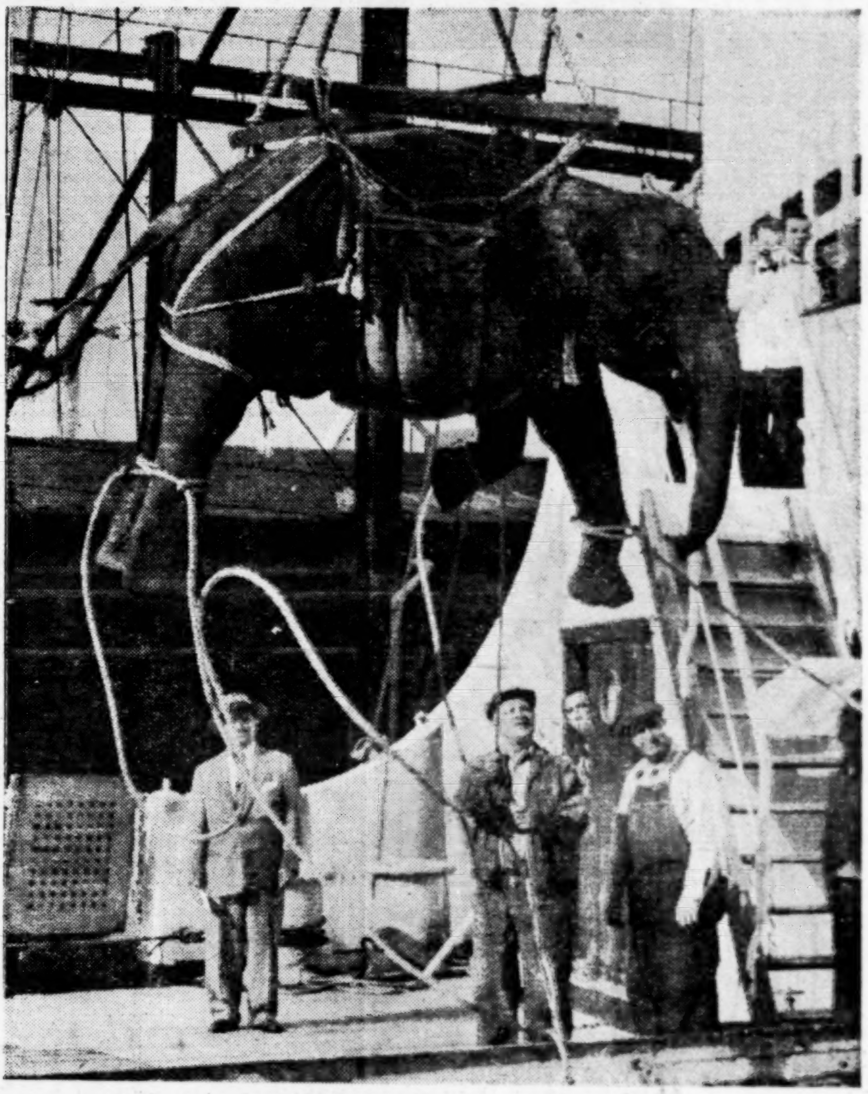
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY'S PLACE ON N. Y. BALLOT IN DOUBT . . . See p. 9



'Twas the day after election . . .

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 7, No. 3 NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 8, 1954

POLITICS

Close vote shows voters' frustration

THE predicted Democratic sweep of this year's Congressional and gubernatorial elections had turned into a neck-and-neck race in most places as the GUARDIAN went to press, with control of the Senate still in doubt. Although Democrats had clinched 228 seats in the House of Representatives, with a potential of 232, and held at least 26 governorships, the results seemed indicative less of Democratic strength than of a confused groping by the electorate.

The surprising number of voters who turned out in an off-year in stormy weather in most of the nation indicated the people wanted to go somewhere but found only the murkiest of road-signs.

THE MYTH: One thing was definite: the GOP-fostered myth of Eisenhower's personal popularity was exploded. On Oct. 21, 1953, the President told a news conference:

> "He did not intend to make of the Presidency an agency to use in partisan elections. . . . He had no intention of going out and getting into partisan struggles in any district or in any state."

But GOP panic forced him into dramatized last-minute campaign appeals for GOP Senate candidates in four states; three of those he embraced went down to defeat. (Frear beat Warburton in Delaware; Barkley beat Cooper in Kentucky; McNamara beat Ferguson in Michigan. Only Bender in Ohio won.) A fifth Senatorial candidate warmly endorsed by Eisenhower, Clifford Case in New Jersey, was leading by only 222 votes at GUARDIAN press time and a recount seemed inevitable.

At a morning-after press conference

(Continued on Page 3)

Minneapolis Tribune
THREE PLEAS.

WAR & PEACE

The West decrees: Cold War goes on

By Tabitha Petran

WHILE the socialist world broadened its efforts to settle outstanding issues by negotiation, and the people everywhere called more insistently for such negotiations, Western governments were reaffirming the "policy of strength." Within a week Britain's Churchill and Eden, the U.S.'s Eisenhower and W. Germany's Adenauer ruled out the possibility of negotiating with the U.S.S.R. until after a rearmed W. Germany bolsters the "strength" of the Western alliance.

Then, said Adenauer in Washington, a "non-aggression pact" with the East might be negotiated—but only if the status quo has been preserved in capitalist and colonial countries. Even this nebulous promise was too much for U.S. diplomats, who "are privately turning thumbs down" on Adenauer's proposal since they have no "intention of sanctioning, even indirectly, Communist domination of great areas of the world" **(AP, 10/31)**. The N.Y. Times' C. L. Sulzberger underscored the U.S. position in reporting (10/30) that Secy. Dulles is still dedicated to "liberation."

FORCE AND VIOLENCE: Promises of eventual negotiations, and the self-conscious emphasis (recalling Hitler's professions two decades ago) on the "peaceful" aims of German rearmament, can only be designed to hoodwink a public opinion Western governments cannot ignore. Their falsity is shown by the "policy of strength" and the attempt to rush through W. German rearmament before public opinion can organize against it; as London's **New Statesman (10/30)** pointed out:

> "As soon as the Paris agreements are ratified, and the rearmament of Western Germany irrevocably begun, not merely will the Cold War be intensified but the Western Powers will have lost the only bargaining counter—the demilitarization of a united Germany—which they could ever hope to employ in negotiations with the U.S.S.R."

The "policy of strength" means that the Western powers are not interested in bargaining but still set on trying to dictate terms by military force—even though, as former Labour MP Konni Zilliacus wrote **(Nation, 10/30)**:

> "The whole policy of anti-communist containment plus liberation is slipping and crumbling. The West has never possessed the power to make it stick and is farther off than ever from the goal."

Drawing by Gabriel, London

"It struck me, chief, while you are assuring Russia the German Army will have no designs on her; who is assuring us?"

"STUPEFYING" ILLUSIONS: Three years ago the truth was told by Chicago University's Hans J. Morgenthau **(In Defense of the National Interest**, Knopf, 1951): that the U.S., faced with the alternative of negotiation or war, would steadily weaken its bargaining position the longer it refused to negotiate and so increase the danger that it would provoke world conflict. W. German rearmament, if accomplished, will bring that danger much closer. In Paris, leading lawyer and commentator Bernard Lavergne **(Tribune des Nations, 10/8)** found it "stupefying" that "the same absurd slogan" used at Munich—"the German Army will save us from communism"—has almost as many dupes today as in 1938; he warned that the Western allies in rearming W. Germany "are doing their utmost to bring on the catastrophe of a third world war." In the U.S., Sen. Ralph Flanders (R.-Vt.) acknowledged recently that "the massive rearmament approach to German unification"—the approach reaffirmed in the joint Eisenhower-Adenauer statement (10/28)—means launching or at least participating in a third world war.

The London accords of last month preserve the worst features of EDC including: a supra-national council empowered to make decisions binding on all members; a supra-national military

(Continued on Page 5)

IN THIS ISSUE

Target: The Constitution
Thought control act's aim . . . p. 7

International kidnap case
Rhoda de Silva's situation . . . p. 6

The harem of terror
Washington in Middle East . . p. 8

'The Blackboard Jungle'
School fantasy by adults . . . p. 10

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Armistice needed

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

As another Armistice Day arrives, it would be well to remind ourselves that it is not the formal observance of a past event that is important, but the present urgent need of an armistice in regard to the prevailing perversion and subversion of truth and justice in our national and international affairs.

The following excerpt from an opinion by the late Justice Jackson is most pertinent in this connection:

"We can have intellectual individualism and the rich cultural diversity that we owe to exceptional minds only at the expense of occasional eccentricities and abnormal attitudes. . . . But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

(West Virginia Jehovah Witnesses Flag Salute Case, 319 U. S. 624, 1943.)

Thomas Campbell

A second thought

DENVER, COLO.

Your paper is awaited eagerly each week, to clear away the cobwebs of the rest of the so-called free press. Would you please send it wrapped however? Sometimes it comes torn and other times late, and we wonder if the post department delays its coming. If I thought any of the employes were reading it first, to enlighten them as to why they hadn't received a pay raise, I would be willing for it to come unwrapped.

Name withheld

P. S.: On second thought leave unwrapped.

How crazy can you get dept.

"I am a 1000 per cent Eisenhower-Stevenson American."

—Herman Hover, owner of Ciro's Hollywood night club, quoted in L. A. Examiner, Oct. 21.

One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Anon., Hollywood, Calif.

Poodle cutlets

OAKLAND, CALIF.

About Charlie Wilson and his dog stories, I don't know what the uproar was all about because, out here in California at least, they're taking pretty good care of us. We are getting discount coupons on dog biscuits now, instead of just the usual old soap coupons. I guess General Foods or General Mills or General Electric, or whichever one is in charge of these things, decided matters were getting a little serious, and besides everybody's probably loaded up with soap anyway.

My wife has figured out some really tasty recipes. Our family is especially nuts about Beagle-loaf. It's sort of like meat loaf, only you use about five pounds of those dog biscuits instead of the meat. It may sound peculiar, but it's really got a snappy taste. We're full of ideas and we find new ways every day to enjoy these goodies.

Like I say, I think people are being a little rough on General Motors' old Charlie Wilson, the bird-dogs' choice.

T. A.

You never can tell

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At the end of the Jewish New Year season, I stopped off for some cigarettes at the local candy store run by two elderly Jewish men. A lady came in and complained harshly that because the store was closed the previous day she had been deprived of her Journal-American. The owners pointed out that she had had her holidays and why shouldn't they have theirs? Then she started complaining that it was always sunny on Jewish holidays but always rained on St. Patrick's Day. She said it in a sort of kidding way but the Jewish people present all felt there was a distinct anti-Semitic tone in this Hearst reader's voice.

As she walked out with her paper, she noticed the headline that Sen. Pat McCarran had died. She shrugged and said: "That's no loss—that guy did more harm in three years than 20 others do in ten."

Aren't folks queer?

Light on Hitler's bag

SPRING HILL, KANS.

Mr. Belfrage has won a place in the hearts of all thinking people who possess a conscience everywhere. His work with the GUARDIAN, A Faith to Free the People, Abide With Me and others have contributed heavily to the supreme task of bringing light and sanity to our people here who are being indoctrinated with every false idea that Hitler had in his bag of tricks.

Otis W. Johnson

39 vs. 7,632

CHICAGO, ILL.

On Sept. 17, Ambassador Lodge at the UN made public "an official list . . . of at least 39 warlike acts by the Chinese communists against the ships and aircraft of free nations in the last four years. This is issued for the information of the public. . . ."

The Chinese, in a publication released Sept 1, stated: "An incomplete survey shows that, between June, 1950, and February, 1954, there have been 7,632 cases, involving 32,997 sorties of U.S. aircraft intruding into China's territorial air and 336 instrusions by a total of 704 U.S. naval craft into her territorial waters" (People's China, Sept. 1, 1954, p. 5).

Albert Bofman

Newsday, Hempstead, L. I.

Very popular too

BRONX, N. Y.

Here's something I found in the library in a collection of children's street songs, sayings and games called Rocket in My Pocket, by Carl Wither, and incidentally very popular with children. It's called "POLITICS," and in my opinion, is the last word in the present election campaign:

"Sixty needles and sixty pins,
Sixty dirty Republikins,
Sixty rats and sixty cats,
And sixty dirty Democrats."

Out of the mouths of babes. . . .

Sylvia Price

On Know-it-allism

OTTAWA, ONT., CANADA

I would like to comment upon your Oct. 4 editorial in which you said ". . . another honest journalist's career turned to dust and poison with the N. Y. Times' publication of Harrison Salisbury's 'Russia Re-Viewed' series."

This statement in my opinion is clearly reflective of the truth in Cedric Belfrage's suggestion (N. G., Vol. 7, No. 1) "that know-nothings cannot be effectively fought by know-it-alls." In other words, I do not believe that such a devastating criticism of Salisbury can be justified unless and until a sincere and substantial analysis of his reporting has been commissioned.

In order for the GUARDIAN to command a wider influence in the fight against reaction, it is necessary for it to relinquish its "know-it-all" attitude; practically to acknowledge through its columns that the Soviet Union is not an utopia; and to describe wherein and why it has such a long way to go. The first task in this direction might be a competent review or pamphlet on Salisbury's series.

Gabriel Glazer

How to stop war

ROBINSON, ILL.

I am five or six months in arrears with my subscription and have seriously considered letting it expire because I think that by ignoring the dishonest money and economic systems, you are failing to make the best arguments against the free enterprise, private profit system of economy. However, the GUARDIAN, regardless of its faults, is the best workingman's paper we have, so I am enclosing my check for $5, $3 to pay for one year's sub, and $2 for the Belfrage Fund.

To stop war, stop creating public debts. Modern wars cannot be carried on without contracting huge public debts. If there were no such a thing as DEBT the private profit system of economy would have ended long ago, for it also cannot be carried on without creating unending DEBTS. War is an excuse for creating Federal Debts whereby the private profit system, "our way of life," is maintained as long as our national credit holds out, but every bond issue weakens our credit and cheapens the dollar. Every capitalist government in the world is bankrupt.

O. B. Bagshaw

A wonderful pocket

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed find $230, which is a git to make sure that the wonderful work of the GUARDIAN keeps on. It was burning a hole in my pocket; I'm sure it won't in yours.

A. A.

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Vol. 7, No. 3 178 NOVEMBER 8, 1954

"The demagogue who excites the unthinking part of men and sets it against his thinking part is the most vicious and deadly traitor to organized society."

—RALPH BARTON PERRY.

REPORT TO READERS

The morning after

AS WE GO TO PRESS the election returns are incomplete. We will not attempt a full interpretation until all precincts are heard from. But some things can be said this morning after, and the outstanding fact is this: In the year 1954, under a sky clouded by war threat, radioactive elements and industrial smog, the solutions demanded by the voter were not represented on the ballot. Hardly anywhere was it possible to find the peace candidate, the full employment candidate, the civil rights candidate among those offered by the old parties.

Had the Democrats offered a believable peace plank, a positive full employment program, an Al Smith or FDR type of reassurance on civil rights and liberties, there is no doubt that they would have swept the nation. The 1954 results indicate that by and large even the spurious peace promise of the Republicans was preferable to the no-peace program of the Democrats.

A first glance would indicate that the people—having no place to go—demonstrated that situation with remarkable clarity by splitting the vote right down the middle.

IN NEW YORK the American Labor Party, fighting fear, a blackout and confusion even in the ranks of progressives, may have failed by a few thousand votes to remain a statewide ballot party. This is a severe blow but not a fatal one. And here again a fact is demonstrated: the ALP in this election, as in the past, was a balance-of-power party. In a state election apparently won by the Democrats with a 10,000-vote margin, it polled 45,000 votes for sanity. (50,000 votes for governor are required to retain ballot status.) Results are incomplete from California, the other arena where progressives fought to retain ballot status.

Next week the GUARDIAN will discuss the results fully, and especially from the viewpoint of maintaining and nourishing an absolutely essential, non-confused, independent, progressive political movement. We invite all readers to comment to this end. We will publish every comment pertinent to the common task and the common goal.

—THE EDITORS.

Owen Middleton dies at 66

OWEN MIDDLETON, 66-year-old Brooklyn Negro leader, died of a heart attack on Wed., Oct. 20. Though seriously ill for some time, at the time of his death he was in the midst of a vigorous campaign as American Labor Party candidate for the State Senate. He lived at 27 Halsey St., Brooklyn.

During the first World War Middleton went to jail with IWW leader Bill Haywood for opposing America's entry. A highly talented furniture designer and surgical artist, he became by profession a commercial artist, and also devoted much of his time to political and trade union activities. Middleton was an active member of the N. Y. Newspaper Guild, Arts, Sciences & Professions Council, American Labor Party and Council on African Affairs.

At his funeral services, held at the Hernandez Funeral Home, Brooklyn, Sat., Oct. 23, Middleton's personal friends and co-workers, including Rev. William Howard Melish and Paul Robeson, paid tribute to a gallant fighter for the rights of minority and colonial peoples. He is survived by his wife, Mary.

The elections

(Continued from Page 1)

the President confessed astonishment at some of the results, but said he saw no repudiation or disapproval of his policies in the Democratic capture of the House. He said that beginning with the new Congress he would consult with Democratic leaders on foreign and domestic matters.

THE HAGGARD HERRING: Shift of House control to the Democrats had one immediate bright prospect: Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), who will be next chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, announced he would recommend abolishing the committee because of its past abuses.

Unrestrained use of the "communist" issue did not pay the dividends GOP leaders expected. In three races considered decisive tests of the popular strength of Sen. Joe McCarthy, the results were a boomerang. In Wisconsin, Rep. Charles J. Kersten was the rallying center of McCarthyite forces and the President wired him a personal endorsement; he was defeated by liberal Democrat Henry Reuss. In New Jersey, McCarthy forces bitterly denounced GOP Senatorial candidate Case; at last count he was still leading. In Illinois Joseph T. Meek campaigned as a 1,000% supporter of McCarthy; he was handily beaten by Sen. Paul H. Douglas (who, however, is himself one of the Senate's leading red-baiters).

"I've misplaced my opening remarks . . . could I borrow half of yours?"

Michigan voters sent that state's first Negro Representative to Washington; he is Charles C. Diggs Jr., who campaigned with strong labor backing.

SENATE UNCERTAINTY: If the Democrats succeeded in winning control of the Senate—and the result was uncertain until the last vote was counted in the last contest—it would mark the first time the party ever captured both houses of Congress in an off-year election. The Republicans have done it twice, in 1918 and 1946.

The GOP spent far more money in the campaign than did the Democrats; according to official figures filed by the two parties on Oct. 30, the GOP had spent through Oct. 15 $1,214,763, some $183,094 in excess of the Democrats, who reported operating at a deficit. But these official figures were only a token, for they did not include expenditures by other committees and sums not accounted for. According to columnist Drew Pearson, a group of 21 Texas millionaires, most of them oilmen, poured a total of $56,500 into key states for GOP support.

At press time no conclusive figures were available for independent groups such as the American Labor Party in New York, the Independent Progressive Party in California.

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PERPETUAL JEOPARDY

CRC's Patterson faces new contempt term

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, last month was released from Danbury federal prison where he served a 90-day sentence for "contempt of court." He had been ordered to produce the CRC's detailed cash receipt books, 1950-1953, with dates, names and amounts of contributors. He said the records did not exist and so he could not comply.

On his release from Danbury Patterson told the GUARDIAN (10/18) that he was being "placed in **perpetual** jeopardy, and not just in double jeopardy," since, no matter how many times he might be sent to jail, he would be unable to produce the records. Last week, a federal grand jury in New York issued another subpena ordering Patterson to appear in court Nov. 5 and produce records.

IT'S VERY LATE: While Patterson was in prison his CRC colleague Samuel Barron was ordered by the grand jury to produce the same non-existent books. Unable to comply, Barron said so. He also sought protection of the 5th Amendment. Judge F. X. McGohey is considering whether to charge him with contempt. Patterson was brought from Danbury in a vain effort to force him to testify against Barron.

Defense rally Nov. 8

The Women's Committee of 100 has called a meeting "for defense of Patterson and [Dr. Alpheus] Hunton" Nov. 8 at Denaissance Casino, 150 W. 138th St., Manhattan, 8 p.m. Paul Robeson, Mrs. Mary Jane Melish and Dr. Harry F. Ward will speak. Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson will be chairman. Dr. Hunton, exec. secy. of the Council on African Affairs, was recently questioned by a federal grand jury seeking to establish the CAA as a "Communist front."

The CRC has been subpenaed to defend itself Nov. 15 before the Subversive Activities Control Board against charges of being a subversive organization subject to registration and to certain penalties under the McCarran Act. Patterson told the GUARDIAN:

"The persistent persecution of this people's defense organization by government agencies indicates that it may be later than many of us think."

He urged letters, telegrams and phone calls to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Dept. of Justice., Washington, D.C., demanding an end to CRC persecution. The CRC address is 6 E. 17 St. (Room 200), N.Y.C. 3.

Moral: Drink to me only with thine eyes

ATLANTIC CITY. (UP)—New Jersey tavern owners vowed yesterday to notify the government if a customer engages "in any subversive activities" while hoisting a few thirst-quenchers at the bar.

"There remain many enemies in our midst," said a resolution passed at the annual convention of the United Licensed Beverage Assn. of N.J. . . . "We pledge to report to the proper governmental agency any person or persons who may be engaged in any subversive activities in our establishments. . . ."

—Newark Star-Ledger, Oct. 15

Berkeley concert

JENNY WELLS

Jenny Wells, nationally-known singer, will present "Folksongs of the Southwest" at a concert sponsored by the Eastbay Guardian Comm., at 2:15 p.m., Sun., Nov. 14, at LeConte Auditorium, Ellsworth & Russell, Berkeley, Calif. Miss Wells, who has lived for many years among the Mexican-American and Indian people in New Mexico, accompanies herself with accordion, guitar and piano. Joining her will be several singers from the Bay Area in a "Round Robin" folksing.

Save Irvin's life

FLORIDA Gov. Charley E. Johns has set the week of Nov. 8 for Walter Lee Irvin's death in the electric chair. Last legal means to save him were exhausted when the Florida parole board last March 23 rejected a commutation plea by the NAACP and a white ministers' group, the Florida Committee on Social Justice.

The case began July 16, 1949, when a young white married woman swore she had been raped and her husband beaten by four Negroes in Groveland, Lake County, Fla. Charles Greenlee, 16, "because of his youth" was sentenced to life on the chain-gang. Ernest Thompson, 26, was shot by a sheriff's posse. Samuel Shepherd and Irvin, handcuffed together, were shot down on a lonely road while en route from Raiford prison to a new trial ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court. Shepherd died. The shooting sheriff was Willis V. McCall, recently reported as a platform guest of Bryant Bowles, "Nat'l. Assn. for Advancement of White People" president, at a Milford, Del., rally against Negro-white school integration.

The influential St. Petersburg (Fla.) **Times** (2/15) said two of its reporters on the case "were never convinced" of the four defendants' guilt, because of "unexplained discrepancies in evidence and other strange elements in the case."

There is still time to protest to Gov. Johns, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla. **Send a wire at once!**

The New Book by CEDRIC BELFRAGE —

All proceeds to the Fight Back against McCarthy's attempt to deport the Guardian's editor

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—Carl Marzani

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CORRUPTION IN THE SADDLE

Washington harem breeds terror in the Middle East

By Kumar Goshal
(Second of two articles)

THE "whole haremful" of Middle East states which Washington has collected, mainly at the expense of British influence in the area, is a haremful of mounting terror—the only way many of the corrupt governments can hope to retain power. In Iran, where the outward flow of oil was resumed after 40 months under the new agreement with a U.S.-dominated group of oil companies, the former pro-Nazi Premier Zahedi sponsored last week a bill providing the dealth penalty for "communists," anti-monarchists and "groups opposed to Islam." Meanwhile in Turkey, after a year's secret hearings, 131 "Reds" were sentenced to jail terms up to 10 years and four opposition newspapermen to two years and $8,000 fines "under Turkey's stringent new press laws" (N.Y. Times, 9/24).

Yet U.S. arms and dollar aid promise no solution of the poverty-ridden area's economic woes, and "communism"—opposition to Washington-supported corruption in government—will not down.

TURKISH HEADACHES: In the past seven years almost $1½ billion—with $76 million more promised this year—have been poured into Turkey, which connects three regions in Washington's global system of "free world" alliances: Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. Though some 1,400 miles as the crow flies from the Atlantic, Turkey is a member of NATO; with Greece and Yugoslavia it has signed the Balkan Pact; and the U.S.-sponsored treaty with Pakistan brings Pakistan into the Middle East and NATO into the Far East, linking up with SEATO. Now Turkey is seeking to lure Iraq and Libya into the Turkey-Pakistan deal.

The Niagara of U.S. taxpayers' money has only aggravated Turkey's economic problems. It is suffering from serious inflation; the high cost of maintaining a 400,000-strong armed force; failure to pay $150 million in commercial debts abroad; and the burden of over $75 million in short-term foreign credits outstanding, and $310 million in newly-contracted medium-term foreign credits. Not including the commercial arrears, Turkey's foreign debt last May was the equivalent of $470 million, requiring a $60 million annual servicing or 15% of exports.

PAKISTAN'S BOILING POT: Pakistan has been in serious economic distress since the end of the Korean war boom, and in grave political turmoil since the Governor-General dismissed the democratically-elected government of E. Pakistan (**GUARDIAN**, 6/7). It was in these circumstances that Premier Mohammed Ali, under whose 16-month regime "neither the economic nor the political situation has improved markedly" (**NYT**, 10/31), came to Washington last month for more help.

The political pot began to boil in his absence. Gov.-Gen. Ghulam Mohammed lifted the ban on political activities imposed on four former leaders, then declared a state of emergency, dissolved the Assembly and dismissed Ali's Cabinet. Ali rushed home, was reported capitulating to Ghulam Mohammed's demand for a new Cabinet including two army generals and an opponent of the ruling Moslem

FIVE YEARS AGO IN ISRAEL: IMMIGRATION CAMP
The time of transition, with Jews pouring into the new country from all over the world, was a time of trial but also of hope. Today Israel has new trials.

League party. The future is obscure, but Washington hopes its decision to quadruple U.S. aid to $105 million and double arms deliveries this year will "help him [Ali] ride out the storm" (**Newsweek**, 11/1). But the storm has already spread disquiet in India, which is "apprehensive" (**Christian Science Monitor** from Bombay, 10/12)

> "... lest Pakistan be headed for ... a military dictatorship. [Ali's new Cabinet] includes not only Gen. Iskandar Mirza (appointed dictator of E. Pakistan) but also the C-in-C of the Pakistan Army (Gen. Ayub Khan) ... India, already concerned about the arrival of American arms in Pakistan, views the possible militarization of the government there with increased alarm."

REVOLT IN THE DESERT: In some of the most historically backward countries of the world, opposition is stiffening to Washington's dream of bringing all Arab countries into a subservient harem. The government of the oil-rich desert Saudi Arabia, said **AP** (10/28), has in the past year

> "... expelled America's Point 4 program, publicly rejected [U.S.] military aid, and signed the famous 'Onassis deal' [with international shipping operator Aristole Onassis] discriminating against American tankers. And [they] have urged Arab states to follow a neutralist policy in the cold war."

In Jordan, where for the first time last month election candidates were allowed to run not as individuals but as representing "licensed" political parties, seven opposition candidates withdrew on election day protesting that the government was interfering in the polling. Five opposition papers had been suspended before the election. In the capital, Amman, the police charged young demonstrators who set fire to the U.S. Information Service library; **NYT** reported that eight were killed, 44 injured (a GUARDIAN correspondent in Damascus reported 30 killed, 300 injured). Outside the capital two left-wing candidates backed by the National Front were elected.

THE ASHES AND THE FIRE: Syria's elections in September, "after five years of military dictatorship and as many coups," showed "signs of upsetting the trend toward Arab-Western amity [following] the Suez Canal settlement" (**Worldwide Press**, 10/22). Sixteen anti-feudal Socialists (a fourfold increase), 40 right-wing, neutralist-minded independents, and the Communist Party's Khalid Bakdash were among those elected to parliament. **Worldwide** commented that a coalition of these members, though not a majority, would wield great power because

> "... the pro-Western conservative parties are torn by personal ambitions. ... The spectacular left-wing success ... could make Syria a neutralist stronghold."

The GUARDIAN's correspondent reported from Damascus:

> "The vote cast showed that Syria has unmistakably taken the path leading to her liberation from imperialist shackles. The victory of CP leader Bakdash was described by the Damascus **Alif-Baa** (9/27) as 'the most important single event in the Middle East since World War II'; the Cairo **Musawar** said it 'held political commentators breathless.'
>
> "The imperialists' apparent success in Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt and Jordan in the form of military pacts, assistance or entente hides the fire under the ashes. Flashes of this fire appear through military dictators' measures to quell the rising spirit of the people and their yearning for peace and freedom: the state of emergency in Pakistan, arrest and execution of army officers in Iran, Iraq's crushing of opposition parties and execution of communists, Egypt's innovation of taking away from left-wingers the title of 'citizen,' Jordan's violent and fraudulent Oct. 16 elections. These flashes of fire indicate the people's determination not to be drawn into the orbit of military pacts."

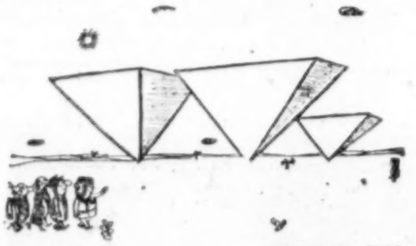
ARAB-ISRAEL DANGER: From the standpoint of world peace, relations between Israel and its neighbors continued dangerously inflammable as U.S. arms flowed to the Arab states. Premier Moshe Sharett sought to stem the resultant tide of anti-U.S. feeling in Israel by reminding "the public that it is possible to remain friendly with the U.S. while criticizing one of its policies, and that U.S. economic aid is needed" (**NYT**, 9/5). In UN Ambassador Abba Eban pleaded for Israel-Arab military "equilibrium" or a "compensating" increase in arms to Israel.

Excluding Israel from any Middle East pact would, said Eban, weaken the region's security. Many in Israel questioned the realism of "equilibrium" since Israel is less than 3/100ths of the Arab states in size, with 1½ million population compared with nearly 50 million. The danger that an Israel-Arab arms race might build the present violent border clashes into full-scale war was clear, as was the bitter irony for many Israelis—recent victims of fascism—of lining up with a "West" including a revived German army.

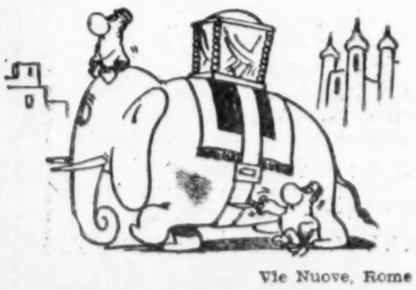
UNSOLVED PROBLEMS: In any case Washington's answer was not more economic aid for the betterment of Israelis' condition but a lukewarm indication that more arms for Israel were "not excluded." The Israelis' problems have no more been solved by U.S. "economic aid" than have the Arabs'. Agriculture has made strides but unemployment grows, industry has been laying off workers, consumer-goods prices have risen an average of 200% in two years while real wages dropped at least 30%; the export-import ratio is 12.88 (cost of imports from U.S. $500 million since 1949, against exports to U.S. worth $39 million). A leading economist of the right-wing Mapai party commented:

> "Israel's present economic policy only serves to deepen the economic contradictions which darken our lives. If we are to find answers for the problems confronting our economy, we must put an end to the existing uncontrolled processes within it and subject them to our will."

On the peace front, one notable gain was the opening of its ranks by the influential United Workers Party (Mapam) to Arab citizens with equal rights and obligations, indicating its faith that the future of Jews and Arabs was intertwined.



Carrefour, Paris
CONFUSION IN EGYPT



Vie Nuove, Rome
ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Flash!

The New York stock market reacted to the election with its biggest advance in 15 years.

$1,000,000 GOAL

Bill of Rights fund sparked by Lamont

CORLISS LAMONT, author and educator now under indictment for contempt of the Senate because he invoked the protection of the First Amendment against Sen. Joe McCarthy, last week placed a sum of $50,000 in escrow to establish a Bill of Rights fund. Aim of the founders of the fund is to raise $1,000,000 to defend civil liberties. Lamont said the fund will have two purposes:

> "... To give financial assistance to key organizations which are militantly working for the preservation of American civil liberties [and] to provide financial help to individuals involved in the legal defense of their constitutional rights, especially where the victims might suffer economic hardships resulting from the loss of their jobs."

The three officers of the fund — Lamont, chairman; Augustus M. Kelley, treasurer, and Edna Johnson, secretary—will serve as its executive committee. Philip Wittenberg is counsel. The announcement of the fund said:

> "We invite public-spirited citizens interested in the preservation of civil liberties to send contributions [from $1 up] to Dr. Corliss Lamont, chmn., Bill of Rights Fund, 450 Riverside Dr., N.Y. 27, N.Y."

Thought for today

SOUTH ORANGE, N.J., Jan. 18—Bernard M. Shanley, special counsel to President Eisenhower, described to an audience of college students today "the killing responsibility" of the President's job. . . .

"The President's main complaint is that we don't give him enough time to think," Mr. Shanley said. "Finally we had to set aside a half hour in the morning and the same time in the afternoon, in order to give the President the time he requires. Just imagine the President ... having to beg for an hour's time in all the day to think."

N.Y. Times, Jan. 19, 1954

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

command headed by NATO generals who, in the recent words of one of them (Field Marshal Montgomery), are "basing all their operational planning on using atomic and thermonuclear weapons"; and the flimsiest of paper controls on W. German arms production, military forces, and movements. Like EDC, the London accords were reached at the expense of France, and constitute a victory for the neo-fascist forces dominating Adenauer's government and their counterparts in other Western countries. W. German troops may be, as the T des N military expert Col. X pointed out (10/8),

> "... without strategic importance in a world dominated by the H-bomb. But their political importance will be immense ... as a very effective means of protecting the established order."

"THE ONLY WAY": The London accords open a new phase in W. Europe's internal political strife, as Walter Lippmann's rationalization (10/19 & 21) for the return to power of fascism in Italy makes clear. If ratified, they assure a new German attempt to dominate Europe, and whether W. Germany turns against East or West create the conditions for a new world war.

Meanwhile the socialist countries continue to offer a policy which can lead to co-existence and peace; but Western propaganda paints as a scheme to dominate all Germany the Soviet proposal for a November four-power conference to withdraw occupation troops and prepare free elections and unification. Yet such "neutralization of a unified Germany" is for the U.S., as Morgenthau wrote, "the only way to prevent the danger of the unification of a militarily and politically independent Germany under Russian auspices." It would seem to be at least as much to U.S. interests as to the U.S.S.R.'s.

DISARMAMENT: Soviet proposals in UN, opening the door to real progress in disarmament, have taken the West by surprise and put in an awkward position the powerful Western elements who gear their policy to atomic-hydrogen war. The U.S. press is going all-out to discredit the proposals, with reports on the Assembly debate on this subject reaching a new low in distortion. The debate made clear that the proposals are based on the Anglo-French proposals of last June, and that while France has stuck by them the U.S.—and to a lesser extent Britain—are maneuvering to re-introduce elements of the Baruch Plan.

Striking in the debate was the strong support given by many countries to the concept of great-power agreement. This was reflected most clearly in the debate on the Australian resolution which called on the UN Secretariat to draw up a descriptive, detailed report of the powers' respective positions on disarmament. Both the U.S.S.R. and France opposed the resolution and for the same reasons: that only the delegation of a country could properly define its position; that it would bog down the subcommittee in endless argument about the report, tend to freeze differences and make agreement more difficult. Behind the Australian resolution was, as its sponsors made clear, a desire to fix blame on the U.S.S.R. for a hoped-for failure to make progress. So strong was opposition that the resolution was not put to the vote.

Francois in Tribune des Nations

THE PEOPLE MOVE: Two new factors —mass-destruction weapons which threaten humanity itself, and a world-wide popular movement for peace—make disarmament a possible goal today as it was not before World War II. This spreading people's movement for peace finds expression in the India-led initiative of Asia against nuclear weapons; in the "five principles" proclaimed by India and China to assure co-existence, non-aggression and equality of countries; in the visit of India's Nehru to Peking and Hanoi, which "may vitally change the course of world history" (William Stoneman, Washington Star, 10/29). This movement also points the way to removal of the war threat posed by Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa.

The UN Assembly has finally agreed to take up at this session the question of Chiang's acts of war against China, the role therein of the U.S. Navy, and Chiang's seizure of W. and E. European merchant ships. When the U.S.S.R. tried to get this on the agenda earlier in the session, the Western powers joined to force postponement. New world public opinion had forced Washington not to oppose openly the airing of this question.

Assembly debate on it will be acutely embarrassing to Washington, and a common Western front hard to maintain—unless Washington makes concessions—since British ships are among Chiang's victims. Demands that China's representatives be invited to take part in the debate will be hard to deny. The dob debate may well prove another step toward settlement in Asia.

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THE INTERNATIONAL KIDNAPING CASE—8 MONTHS LATER

Rhoda de Silva of Ceylon speaks—and Eisenhower is mute

On March 17, 1954, Rhoda Miller de Silva, an American married to Joseph de Silva, a Ceylonese citizen, was arrested in Ceylon—at the instigation of the U. S. Embassy—and put aboard a TWA plane for New York. She had two weeks to go to complete her one-year residence requirement before adopting her husband's citizenship. She was not allowed to communicate with her husband before departure (they both are journalists) and was kept in custody throughout the trip. No charges were placed against her in Ceylon; the Supreme Court of that land issued a stay order, but that knowledge was kept from her en route in India.

On March 19, after a 12,000-mile trip, Mrs. de Silva was deposited, with only the tropical clothing on her back and $1.50, at New York's freezing Idlewild Airport. On July 24 she wrote a protest to President Eisenhower (GUARDIAN, Aug. 2) asking that he expedite a reunion with her husband; no reply. Many GUARDIAN readers have asked for news of Mrs. de Silva and this is her response.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I AM DEEPLY MOVED—but not surprised—by the concern many GUARDIAN readers have expressed. The GUARDIAN and its readers have followed me all over the continent of Europe and to Ceylon. They have been a constant reassurance not only to me, but to all of those who used to pass my copies from hand to hand and finally return them, battered and dog-eared, that the political landscape in the U. S. is not being painted exclusively by those with an obsession for graveyards and inquisition chambers.

GUARDIAN readers have wanted to know two things: (1) whether any steps had been taken to correct the outrage committed by U. S. authorities in forcibly carrying me to the U. S.; (2) "What can we do to help?"

SILENCE IN THE LAND: The protest to Mr. Eisenhower was widely published abroad (in many cases reprinted from the GUARDIAN)—in India, France, Italy, Britain and many other countries, including, of course, Ceylon. A few lines were carried by an American press agency. However, while many editors abroad have communicated with me, only the GUARDIAN—alone among all the newspapers in the U. S.—has considered this macabre story of international kidnaping of sufficient interest to warrant full publication and personal contact. Neither the President nor any one of the several dozen Congressmen and Senators to whom I sent copies has either answered it or even acknowledged receipt of it. They have apparently decreed that this case simply does not exist.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Here is where GUARDIAN readers, with their inevitable and generous question "What can we do to help?", could come into the picture:

RHODA de SILVA

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, is scheduled to visit this country in November as a guest of the President. Perhaps letters and petitions could be addressed to Mr. Eisenhower during this visit asking him what purpose the cruel and high-handed interference in the lives of two people has served, and demanding that measures be taken to rectify the harm done.

The order for my deportation was not a decision of the Ceylon Government: it was an executive order signed by the Prime Minister. It is a known fact in Ceylon that the order was signed under great pressure from U. S. Ambassador Philip Crowe, a former advertising manager of Fortune magazine. When the case was brought to the Ceylon Senate, government members were completely at a loss to find a single argument to support the order. One of them declared—in obvious desperation—that my deportation was necessary to guarantee the safety of Queen Elizabeth, about to visit Ceylon!

ELEMENTARY RIGHT: The UN Human Rights Commission does not make a practice of taking up individual cases. However, since this is a case with international ramifications, and since neither of the governments involved will assume responsibility for its action, I think the case deserves to be brought to their attention as a flagrant invasion of the most elementary of all human rights—that of families to live together. Perhaps GUARDIAN readers could write or petition the Human Rights Commission.

My case does not fit into the routine of any of the hard-pressed and overburdened organizations fighting for civil rights in the U. S. I am therefore without the resources for legal action even though, I am told, there are certain obvious legal aspects that could, under other conditions, be explored. Pressures of various kinds are therefore the only recourse.

And here I would like to ask GUARDIAN readers what ideas they have as to what can be done.

THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN: My husband has asked me to convey his greetings and warm thanks to the GUARDIAN and its readers. The custom now current in the U. S. of importing—and exporting—human "undesirables," looks like sheer insanity in his part of the world, as do most other aspects of U. S. policy. But they are confident, he writes, that the editors of the GUARDIAN will be at their desks guarding everything that is fine in America's traditions—bringing reason and courage and conscience onto the scene—long after the little know-nothings have been retired, to padded isolation, babbling about their former "positions of strength."

Rhoda Miller de Silva

PATRIOTISM AND THE SMITH ACT

U.S. seeks to cheat 2 World War II heroes

TWO VETERANS of World War II with outstanding records are now threatened with forfeiture of their Army pensions—both rated at total disability—by a seemingly vindictive government. The families of both men are dependent on the pensions. The two, Robert G. Thompson and Saul Wellman, are both veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and both have been convicted under the Smith Act. Thompson is serving a sentence in the Federal prison at Atlanta; Wellman is free in bail pending an appeal.

THOMPSON'S STORY: In January, 1943, Thompson was a staff sergeant in Co. C of the 127th Inf. Reg., 32nd Inf. Div. When the Konombi River had to be crossed during the jungle war in New Guinea, Thompson volunteered. In broad daylight, towing a small line, he swam the river under heavy fire, got his platoon across, wiped out two enemy machine-gun emplacements and established a bridgehead.

For this feat and his general excellence as a soldier, Thompson was recommended for a direct commission in the field by all his commanding officers, but a routine medical checkup revealed he had contracted chronic pulmonary tuberculosis while in the Army. He was hospitalized home, awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for "gallantry in action" and "his courageous and fearless leadership," and granted a total disability pension.

WELLMAN'S STORY: Wellman in December, 1944, was a corporal with the 101st Airborne Division in the battle of the Bulge. Severely wounded and captured, he managed to escape and was finally rescued. After some six months' hospitalization, he was granted his total disability pension.

Early last June both men received letters from Clifford L. Johnson, chairman of the Central Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures of the Veteran's Administration, informing them that forfeiture of their pension was under consideration "because of an alleged violation of the provisions of Sec. 4, Public Law No. 144. . . ." That section reads:

> "Any person shown by evidence satisfactory to the Administrator of Veterans Affairs to be guilty of mutiny, treason, sabotage, or rendering assistance to an enemy of the U. S. or of its allies shall forfeit all accrued or future benefits . . . pertaining to gratuities for veterans and their dependents. . . ."

IT'S OBVIOUS: The letter suggested that conviction under the Smith Act covered the offenses listed. In a memorandum to the VA Robert Z. Lewis, attorney for Thompson, patiently pointed out the obvious:

> "Mr. Thompson has never been indicted, tried or convicted for treason, mutiny, sabotage, or for rendering assistance to an enemy of the U. S. or of its allies."

The attorney expressed surprise that a holder of the nation's second highest military decoration could be so accused:

> "In view of Mr. Thompson's war record, it is quite clear that he has committed no such offenses. On the contrary, his activities in the Army of the United States during World War II are to be, and were, highly commended and cannot be condemned."

SLANDER IS RESENTED: Thompson himself, in a letter to the VA made available for publication by his attorney, called the charge "totally unfounded, downright slanderous." He added:

> ". . . how . . . can my conviction under the Smith Act be deemed by a committee of the VA as grounds for branding me as guilty of an altogether different set of charges? It would seem self-evident that this, if attempted, would involve scrapping of such basic propositions as the need of a proper trial, the necessity of evidence, the elementary right to defend oneself in person, etc. I sincerely hope that your committee is contemplating no such perversion of the functions of the VA. . . . Permit me to express the hope that the VA, through your committee, will choose to uphold the democratic concepts and principles for which World War II was fought by forthrightly clearing my record of the slanderous charges brought against it."

"INDECENT HASTE": Attorney Lewis in his memorandum argued that for the VA to make an adverse decision in the case it would either have to act as a court of law and convict Thompson of the new set of charges, or undertake to legislate new meanings into the Smith Act, neither of which it is empowered to do. He added that forfeiture under the circumstances would be a denial of property without due process of law.

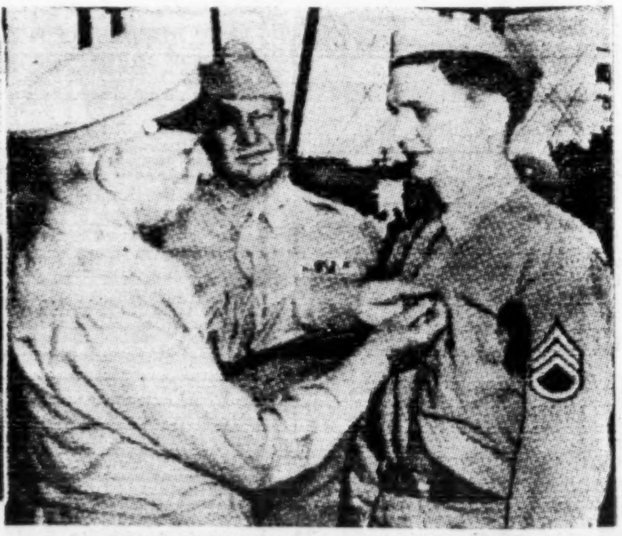
Wellman, now in Detroit, made similar protests in a letter to the VA:

> "It appears that the prosecutors of my wife, two small children and myself act with indecent haste. Even the Smith Act conviction (which—as I have said—has nothing to do with Public Law 144) is by no means a settled matter. My case is at present under appeal and headed for the highest courts of the land."

Early last month a "confidential" hearing on the Thompson case was held in Washington before a three-man board. No decision has yet been made. Meanwhile both pensions are withheld.

Friends of the two vets urge protests to chairman Clifford L. Johnson of the Comm. on Waivers & Forfeitures, Veteran's Adm., Wash., D. C.

SAUL WELLMAN



ROBERT THOMPSON *receiving the DSC*

"The more the better"

"I'm not an economist. But on general principles I think the more interchange of goods there is between nations, whether communist or no, the better. You can't trade without trust. Anything that encourages the beginnings of trust is good.

"I have never known Christianity to say you can't have anything to do with godless people. We don't have to compromise our own beliefs or approve theirs. You know, our Lord was attacked a good deal for consorting with publicans and sinners."

—Dr. Geoffrey F. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, interviewed on leaving the U. S., N. Y. Times, Sept. 30.

THE COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT OF 1954

'The target is the Constitution'

By Lawrence Emery

SINCE APRIL 20, 1953, the Communist Party of the U.S. has been appealing an order of the Subversive Activities Control Board that it register as a "communist-action" organization dominated by a foreign power under provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950. On Sept. 13, 1954, the U.S. Court of Appeals itself ordered a rehearing on the appeal with specific reference to the impact of the new Communist Control Act of 1954 upon the older act.

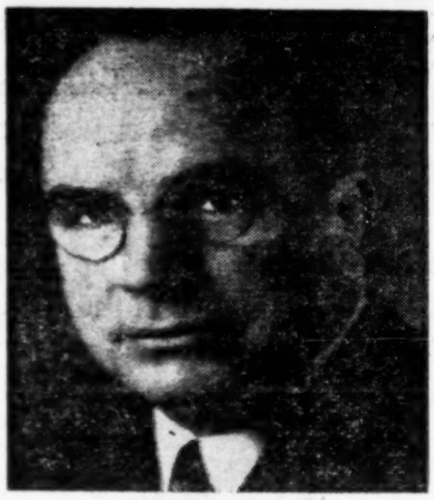
The original brief, filed by defense attorneys John Abt, Joseph Forer and the late Vito Macantonio, ran to 240 pages and said of the 1950 Act that

> ". . . its terms and the principles which it establishes deny the protection of the First Amendment to all Americans and impose a system of thought control upon the whole people."

Among many other points, the brief argued these:

- "The Act is unconstitutional.
- "The Act was designed to outlaw the Communist Party by legislative fiat and without proof of guilt.
- "The Act violates the due process clause and is a bill of attainder.
- "The Act predetermines guilt.
- "The Act on its face and as applied, is a clear and present danger to the national security."

HARVEY MATUSOW
Forgive me, can you spare . . .



BISHOP OXNAM
A question of stability

THE REAL TARGET: On Oct. 11 attorneys Abt and Forer filed a supplemental brief in which they argued that the new Act not only "confirms our analysis of the original Act" but that "the due process and First Amendment defects of the original Act are enlarged and intensified. . . ." The brief concluded that the target of the combined legislation is not only the CP, but the Constitution of the U.S. itself:

> "We have earlier said that repression cannot be contained. Political rights cannot be denied to Communists without sacrificing the liberties of all. This is the inexorable lesson of history.
>
> "The overriding issue in this proceeding is not whether petitioner will be accorded the protection of the Constitution, but whether the Constitution itself will survive. This issue was clear from the original Act. It is made unmistakable by the 1954 Act.
>
> "The Court cannot sustain the order of the Board without sustaining the premise on which it rests. These include coerced conformity, suppression of peaceable assembly and advocacy, determination of guilt by legislative fiat, imputation of guilt by association, use of irrational and vague standards, adjudication by a biased tribunal, and reliance on the testimony of perjurers. The 1954 Act shows that these execrable policies, once applied to any group, are inevitably extended to the people as a whole.
>
> "If the order of the Board is sustained, the petitioner will suffer grievous injury. But the irreparable blow will be dealt to the Constitution, and the most tragic fatality will be the loss of a nation's democratic heritage and the liberty of its citizens. This case inescapably presents a choice between traveling the path to a police state and reaffirming the principles upon which the nation was founded and the freedom and security of its people rests."

ONE WAY ONLY: In oral argument on Oct. 21 Abt called the new law another step down "the one-way street that leads to a fascist form of state." He said that under the 13 criteria contained in the new law "almost anyone can be found to be a member" of the CP and that anyone so found then faces "instant ruin" if he does register and "enormous criminal penalties" if he doesn't.

He warned that even with the most meticulous precautions as to associations and utterances, "the individual may not escape the predatory eye of some professional informer who turns him in on the basis of some real or imagined incident in his past."

Government attorney David Irons argued that the new law does not affect the original one, but the N.Y. *Times* noted:

> "Mr. Irons avoided, however, a direct defense of the legislation outlawing the Communist Party. . . . That law, he asserted, in no way changed the requirement of the McCarran Act that the CP register with the Attorney General. He did not assert its Constitutional validity."

THE INFORMERS: Defense attorneys also filed a motion requesting permission to present new evidence of perjury by three of the government's witnesses:

> "[Paul] Crouch, [Manning] Johnson and [Harvey] Matusow . . . have committed perjury, are completely untrustworthy and should be accorded no credence; . . . at least two of them are now being investigated for perjury by the Dept. of Justice, and . . . because their character as professional perjurers has now been conclusively and publicly demonstrated, the Attorney General has ceased to employ any of them as witnesses."

New evidence of Matusow's perjury was promptly forthcoming. On Oct. 18 Bishop J. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church swore under oath that Matusow told him he "had borne false witness." The Bishop took the stand at a hearing of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade before the Subversive Activities Control Board. He testified that Matusow had twice approached him to be forgiven for lying—and to seek $1,500 to complete a book he is writing to be called "The World of McCarthy: Blacklisting Is My Business." Said the Bishop:

> "My second conversation with Matusow led me to believe he was still lying. I felt that he couldn't be trusted, and there were serious questions in my mind about the man's stability and his ability to tell the truth."

He said he was "astounded" that Atty. Gen. Brownell would "rely on the testimony of a man like Harvey Matusow."

"I BETRAYED EVERYONE": On Oct. 27 Russell Morton Brown, a law partner of former Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath, took the witness stand in still another SACB proceeding against the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship and gave similar testimony under oath. He said that after a visit from Matusow last April he had dictated this to his secretary as part of a memorandum:

> "He [Matusow] said in so many words, 'You should know that I am not to be trusted under any circumstances. I have betrayed everybody who ever befriended me. If I give you some information which is helpful, you check it 100% because I don't even trust myself.'"

Speak out, or forever lose the right

The letter excerpted below appeared in the Miami Herald, Oct. 11:

THE VIOLENCE of the present campaign to throw people in jail has left many people aghast. We rub our eyes and ask "Is this Hitler's Nazi Germany, or is it really the United States. . . ?" Each morning we search the newspaper for some sign that the nightmare is over, that we are not aping the totalitarian states, but have regained the sanity and courage that once trademarked Americans as men who always stood for fair play.

Why do not more leaders of our community come forth in the cause of sound democracy and good ethics? . . . It has come to the point where anyone who left a bundle of used clothing, with his name and address, designated for Russian Relief back in 1942-43 is likely to be named as "suspicious" or "subversive." . . . It is not the business of any radio disc-jockey or publicity-hungry special writer to "ride herd" on citizens who have been named by professional informers and who have not yet been given the legal rights accorded proved criminals.

The plight of some of these citizens is shocking to anyone with a sense of decency and humanity. . . . It costs just as much to defend yourself if you are as innocent as Mary's lamb as it does if you once did support some organization which has since been put on the "front" list. . . . It behooves us now as individuals to speak out, or perhaps forever lose that right.

Mrs. Edward W. Ulrich
Chairman, Miami Branch
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

CALENDAR

Philadelphia

SYMPOSIUM IN DEFENSE OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT
The Right to Speak and Hear
FRI., NOV. 12 — 8:30 P.M.
Sylvania Hotel,
Juniper and Locust Sts.
Adm: 65c. Speakers:
DR. JOHN SOMERVILLE
Prof., Hunter College
A. HARRY LEVITAN, ESQ.
Phila. Civil Liberties Atty.
FRANCIS P. JENNINGS
Pres., Teachers Union, Phila.
Sponsors: Hans Blumenfeld, Harriet Guignon, Elizabeth Frazer, Jenny Jackson, Francis P. Jennings, Alice Liverwright, Lillian R. Narins, Edward Robinson Jr., Mary Winsor, Eric Winston.
For Res.: Hans Blumenfeld, 6340 Green St., and Miss Elizabeth Frazer, CH 7-4424.

Chicago

CARL MARZANI, noted author-lecturer of N.Y., "CO-EXISTENCE," also 2 new documentaries from U.S.S.R. "The Pamirs" and "The Altai" (never before shown in Chicago). Sat., Nov. 13, 8:15 p.m., Milda Hall, 3140 S. Halsted St. Adm: $1, tax incl. Auspices: Chicago Council of A.S.F.

DEBATE—"Is Mao's China the Road to Freedom in Asia?" Yes—Bert Cochran, Editor AMERICAN SOCIALIST. No.—Sid Lens, Author, Union Official. Chairman: Kermit Eby. Fri., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. Fine Arts Building, Music Room, 410 S. Michigan. Donation: 50c.

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the SPECTATOR

No humans need apply

LAST Monday was "Overseas Recruitment Day" at the Washington headquarters of the U.S. Information Agency. The USIA is the outfit that spends $85 million a year of your money on a global Free-World-Rah! program, including the Voice of America beamed through the "Iron Curtain."

The USIA had a problem. It had 106 overseas jobs at salaries up to $12,800 a year plus overseas living allowances which it couldn't fill. The jobs are to tell aliens how cultured we are through radio, movies, books and newspapers wherever Washington has A-bomb bases—which is just about everywhere. They tried to get Univac to come up with an answer, but it gave up. So all employes were told to drop whatever they were doing and, by phone and footslog, track down characters who would like—and were politically hygienic enough—to do that job and earn up to $12,800 a year for it.

Wall Street Journal
"This fellow is the only one, with enough gumption to sign his name. H-m-m! Remind me to fire him in the morning."

Why didn't anyone want the jobs? USIA chiefs ascribed it to "uncomfortable and hazardous conditions" which applicants must face in these alien lands. But the N.Y. Times' Dana Adams Schmidt rudely drew attention to last year's McCarthy-Cohn-Schine witch-hunt in the USIA and the resultant wave of firings and resignations. Schmidt's rudeness was guarded, but he mentioned "other quarters" which "observed" that the 1953 witch-hunt had had

> ". . . damaging effects on the morale of the remaining employees. . . . Qualified candidates might hesitate to apply for fear [of more] similar investigations and personnel cuts. . . ."

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT: The McCarthy rampage concentrated especially on the USIA's overseas libraries. The idea on that sector of the Free-World-Rah! front is to show aliens that Americans have written, and sometimes still write, good books. For example there was Thoreau's **Walden**, published just 100 years ago this year; and there was Hemingway's **Old Man and the Sea**, which the Nobel Prize committee, at least, thought so highly of that it gave Hemingway this year's literary oscar for his "mastery of modern narration."

Some light on the USIA's recruiting problem is projected by one "Scrutineer" in an article written with obvious inside knowledge and authority in **The Nation** (10/30). From this we learn:

- USIA recently banned **Walden**—which library service chief Franklin L. Burdette called "downright socialistic"—from its "expendable libraries" of cheap American classics circulated abroad.
- "A few days ago," Burdette turned down a proposal to buy world rights of **The Old Man and the Sea** because Hemingway is on a graylist of authors about whom "additional data"—unchecked scuttlebutt—is in USIA's files on the purity of some 7,000 writers, artists and musicians.

Hemingway, in fact—let the awful truth be known—is one of the dozens of authors who, like Cedric Belfrage who was "charged" with it in his deportation hearing, wrote in the Thirties for **New Masses**.

THE PURGE GOES ON: "Scrutineer" adds the following zany facts about the USIA library service after McCarthy's rampage:

- The average number of books the USIA shipped abroad fell from 119,913 to 341 a month—or about .3% of the previous norm.
- More books are going now, but the blacklist and graylist continue to operate and all authors must be "cleared" before their books can be put in the libraries. Despite claims to the contrary by new USIA head Theodore Streibert (the chief at the time of the rampage resigned), "the accent is more than ever on snooping into an author's private life and thoughts while disregarding his book's substance."
- Last September a list of 141 "additional data" (graylist) names was circulated confidentially in the USIA—and quickly recalled, but not before its contents got out. The list, including Henry Seidel Canby, Malcolm Cowley, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Julian Huxley and George Soule, "reads like a Who's Who in the realm of American culture."

THE TORRENT: Be all this as it may, The Spectator would be the last to question the USIA explanation that—if candidates for such economically cozy berths exist who are both hygienic and qualified—the reason they won't apply is fear of "uncomfortable and hazardous conditions." The question that remains open is where they expect the discomfort and hazard to come from.

Meanwhile the N.Y. **Times** is complaining about the "torrent of lies which the Kremlin's propaganda machine puts out about us," citing a Moscow radio statement that "America is going the way of Hitler."

The **Times** feels this situation could be improved if the U.S.S.R. "permitted ordinary Soviet citizens to come to know American realities."

Perhaps, on the other hand, they have come to know those realities too well. Anyway, they will have been watching Monday's scramble for bodies at the USIA with some amusement.

THERE WERE SOME CLEAR WORDS AMIDST THE CONFUSION
The ALP was on the radio and TV every day during the campaign. Above preparing recordings are (l. to r.) John T. McManus, candidate for Governor; a publicity assistant in the campaign; George Fish, candidate for Atty. General.

NEW YORK

ALP ballot place in doubt; Dems gain 1 in Congress

By Elmer Bendiner

LAST week New Yorkers confounded polls and prophets who had predicted a Democratic sweep. When the dust settled Wednesday morning, tallies indicated voters had:

- Elected a Democratic Governor, Averell Harriman, by a hairline plurality of 6,276 out of a total vote of over 5 million. (Gov. Dewey order a recount for Nov. 9.)
- Rejected Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., candidate for attorney-general, thought by many to be the Democrats' best vote-getter and labor's standard bearer.
- Switched only one of the state's Congressional delegation from the GOP to the Democratic side. (Now 26 Reps., 17 Dems.)
- Put the ballot status of the American Labor Party in doubt. (On Wednesday afternoon official returns gave the ALP 44,958, more than 5,000 short of the ballot requirement, but gaps in the tally upstate gave hope that the party might reach its 50,000 goal.)

ALP IN JEOPARDY: The official score for John T. McManus, ALP candidate for governor, as of Wednesday morning, was:

N. Y. City: 40,946
Upstate: 3,907

Ralph Powe, ALP candidate for controller and the only Negro on any top slate, was running ahead of the ticket; George Fish, for atty-gen., having apparently lost some 2,000 votes to Roosevelt Jr., was running behind. In 1950 when McManus last ran for governor he polled 221,966.

If the ALP does not reach the 50,000 mark, and its ballot rights are challenged, it will have to gather 12,000 petitions state-wide, at least 50 in each county.

The Liberal Party, which polled 416,711 votes for Adlai Stevenson in 1952, gave Harriman 260,200—a sharp drop, but close to the vote it gave the Democrats' Lynch in the governorship race in 1950, 261,665.

Though the ALP vote was a slim share of the total, so close was the governorship race that the party once again held the balance of power. Its votes could have given a clear-cut victory to either side.

SHIFTING TIDES: At 10:05 Tuesday night Averell Harriman celebrated at the Biltmore Hotel with Mayor Wagner and James A. Farley. Cheered by a commanding early lead, Harriman grinned, made a feeble V-for-victory sign with his fingers and nervously read a prepared statement pledging "to pick up where [ex-Gov.] Herbert Lehman left off 12 years ago." Ten minutes later the GOP's Sen. Ives wired his congratulations in the traditional prize-ring tribute: "It was a great fight."

Within an hour the tide had turned.

ROOSEVELT LAGS: At 3:10 a.m. Harriman was still holding a slim lead but Roosevelt Jr., lagging far behind, conceded victory to the GOP's Jacob K. Javits. The Wednesday morning results showed Roosevelt running more than 113,000 behind Harriman and 180,000 behind Javits. The tally was:

Roosevelt: 2,392,057
Javits: 2,576,768.

Roosevelt generally led his ticket upstate but lagged behind in the city. He had given up an almost guaranteed reelection to Congress in order to run for attorney-general. Last spring he set out to capture the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, lining up strong support from upstate bosses as the standard bearer of revolt against Tammany Hall. (That paid off last week but not well enough to counter city losses.) He also won endorsement of, most of the state's labor leaders who saw in him a better chance of winning. (His labor strength was less visible last week.)

TAMMANY IN CLOVER: His defeat gave Tammany boss Carmine DeSapio a double victory. DeSapio had forced Harriman on the party convention and piloted him to a victory, however narrow. In rejecting Roosevelt for the top post DeSapio was told by many he had spurned the party's No. 1 vote-getter. He can now claim superior political judgment and a tighter control over the state party, having beaten the upstate rebels.

Tammany stormed City Hall with Wagner last year, has now captured the state house in Albany and, through DeSapio's seat on the party's national committee, has a toehold in Washington.

Roosevelt Jr., who seemed to many to be Presidential or Senatorial timber, is now out of office altogether.

JAVITS' STRENGTH: His successful rival scored a double triumph, not only leading his ticket but doing it despite a snubbing by the GOP brass who left his campaign largely up to Javits. Javits had been a popular Congressman, his liberalism (he opposed Taft-Hartley, for example) tolerated by the GOP because his constituents regularly returned him to office from a Democratic neighborhood. Against Javits' record and political know-how Roosevelt Jr. had little to offer except his father's name.

Stressing Javits' past accomplishments in gathering votes from uptown Manhattan's 21st CD, with Javits out of the running the GOP failed to hold the seat. Lawyer Herbert Zelenko (D) beat banker Floyd Cramer (R) 60,994-29,411, giving the Democrats their only gain in the N. Y. Congressional delegation.

MULTER, CELLER IN: Liberal Democratic incumbents Abraham Multer and Emanuel Celler were returned with wide margins of victory. Judge Victor L. Anfuso (D-L), who ran for Congress from Brooklyn's 8th CD on a platform calling for repeal of the McCarran immigration law, beat his GOP opponent E. J. Renne, by 14,317.

In the 18th CD James G. Donovan running on the Democratic and Republican lines won easily. The score:

Donovan: 38,269
Amos Basel (L): 5,971
Frank Wedl (ALP): 1,410.

THE SILENT ONES: Most significant in the 18th CD were the votes not cast. In 1950, when the late Vito Marcantonio last ran for Congress, the total vote cast was 86,226. Last week it was 55,650. When Marcantonio died last August he had already opened a comeback campaign most observers thought likely to succeed. His death left at least 30,000 voters seeing no reason to vote.

In the silk-stocking 17th CD, Manhattan, lawyer and war hero Anthony B. Akers came close to beating the veteran isolationist, Vichyite and early witch-hunter, Frederic R. Coudert Jr. (R). But in the last 10 ED's Coudert slipped ahead to win 48 971-48,422.

Running on the People's Rights ticket in the Bronx 24th CD, Communist Party leader, Smith Act defendant and veteran labor leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn polled 1,398 votes.

NO COMMITMENTS: The Republicans retained firm control over the state Legislature, a foregone conclusion since the state is gerrymandered to give heaviest weight to rural votes. The Democrats gained 13 seats in the Assembly. One of the switches brought victory in the 1st AD to Wm. F. Passanante, a personal protege of Carmine DeSapio. The Democrats gained three seats in the state Senate, added two more as the result of reapportionment.

The sum total of Tuesday's balloting was to replace a Republican governor with a Democratic one, leaving the rest of the state's political coloring and officialdom substantially unchanged. Averell Harriman, if recount moves do not unseat him, will take office without decisive popular support; with a clear mandate that the people want jobs and peace, but uncommitted to either.

The ALP's future

ON the morning after election Morris Goldin, American Labor Party exec. secy., issued this statement:

"The ALP does not concede that it is off the ballot. There is every indication that the required number of voters cast their ballots for the ALP but that we got a short count.

"We are sending out watchers to recanvass and see that every ALP vote is counted. For this purpose we urgently need people with cars to make the necessary check.

"As for the ALP's future, the need for independent political action is as great today as it was yesterday. The fight for a peacetime economy, for jobs, for full equality for the Negro and Puerto Rican people is as pressing today as ever. The ALP proposes to stay in business and fight for these things."

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THE CRISIS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION
Lecturer: Irving Adler
Tues., Nov. 9 — 8 P.M.
"The Crisis in Public Education Today."
* * *
SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES IN CONFLICT
Lecturer: Dr. Barrows Dunham
Wed., Nov. 10:
"Scientific Socialism"
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Place: 206 W. 15th St. Tuition: $1 for each session. Phone: WA 4-5524.

SCOTT NEARING Courses: Tues., Nov 9, 6:30-8 p.m. "Fire Out of Heaven"; 8:30-10 p.m. "Historical Trends in the Soviet Union." Cornish Arms Hotel, 23d St. & 8th Av. $1.10 at door; course ticket $3.50 (5 lectures). Auspices: Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10th St., OR 5-6939.

TIRED after a tough election campaign? Relax, dance and have fun at our PARTY, SAT. NITE, NOV. 6, 53 Horatio St., basement apt. (off 8th Av., south of 14th St.) Cont.: $1. Greenwich Village ALP Young Voters Committee.

CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNY. Songs, Squares, Play Party, Community Sing and Refreshments. This Sat., Nov. 6, 2:30 and alternate Saturdays. Peoples Artists Studio, 5, 124 W. 21st St. Adm: 75c.

SAT., NOV. 6, is the night for a great Surprise Birthday Party for ??? Cont: $1.50, including refreshments and exciting entertainment. 9 p. m. at ASP, 35 W. 64th St.

SUNDAY FORUM: "A MATERIALIST APPROACH TO PSYCHIATRY." A discussion of Dr. Joseph B. Furst's "The Neurotic," with Howard Selsam, Francis Bartlett and Dr. Furst. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av., Sun., Nov. 7, 8:30 p.m. $1.

DON WEST, poet and teacher, author of "Clods of Southern Earth" and "The Road Is Rocky," will speak on Thurs., Nov. 11, 8 p.m., at the Church of All Nations, 9 2nd Av. Ausp: Southern Agricultural Workers Organizing Comm.

PRE-CHRISTMAS, PRE-CHANUKAH SALE of original black-and-white and color prints by Siqueiros and 25 other Mexican artists of the Taller Grafica. Popular priced from $3. Sun., Nov. 7, 3-6 p.m., at the home of Mr. and Mrs. David Friedman, 340 E. 66th St, Apt. 4C. Auspices: 8th A.D., ALP.

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EVENING IN THE THEATER

'In Splendid Error'— a play about Frederick Douglass

By Ione Kramer

WILLIAM BRANCH (**A Medal for Willie**) has for the second time given New Yorkers a play with a central Negro character who is neither a Carmen Jones nor an Emperor Jones. **In Splendid Error** at the Greenwich Mews Playhouse is about Frederick Douglass. Old John Brown, the fiery Abolitionist, visits Douglass at the latter's Rochester (N.Y.) home to outline his plan for guerrilla bands in the Alleghenies, raiding plantations for slaves and building up an anti-slavery army. Douglass backs it reluctantly; he has lost hope of ending slavery by "moral suasion" but thinks the plan impractical.

An aide betrays them to the government, and in an electrically dramatic second act Douglass tries to persuade Brown to postpone the Harper's Ferry raid. Douglass fears the attack on the government, rather than on slavery itself, will bring down the wrath of the entire country. Why risk the good he can do as editor of the North Star and Northern spearhead of the abolitionist movement for a project he sees as certain death? But for Brown, "God's angry man," any action is better than none. When the raid fails and the government tries to implicate Douglass, his friends persuade him to flee to Canada and England.

LESSONS FOR NOW: When Douglass returns after Brown's death, he is in conflict with himself; he feels he has deserted Brown, who has become a hero, and that he cannot honestly go out and speak for abolition as he once had. Sometimes, Douglass says, men have a right to unite with others "in splendid error" even though it conflicts with cold reason. Only when Douglass is persuaded that Brown understood his actions, and meant for him to carry on, is he able to resume the fight.

WILLIAM MARSHALL
In role of Douglass

There is no indication in the definitive works on Douglass that he returned with any other intent but to carry on his old work once the heat was off, or that he needed to be persuaded. The "rehabilitation" theme in act three, which is pertinent and unfortunately necessary to our own time, somewhat deflates the heroic, historic figure of Douglass.

Yet Branch's serious and absorbing drama stands far above the few others on this period—Theater Guild's 1948 **Set My People Free,** about Denmark Vesey, and **Nat Turner,** by People's Drama in 1950. Certainly more episodes from the lives of Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, William Lloyd Garrison and others of those times can furnish more plays from which courage and lessons can be drawn.

Clarice Taylor, Howard Wierum, Louis Guss, Maxwell Glanville and a competent group of players give an admirably well-knit performance directed by Salem Ludwig.

LIFE IN THE SOUTH

Don West talks in N.Y. Nov. 11

DON WEST, poet and teacher, author of **Clods of Southern Earth** and **The Road Is Rocky,** will make his first appearance in New York in many years at the Church of All Nations, 9 Second Av., Thurs., Nov. 11, at 8 p.m. He will tell about life in the South and read his poetry. He is now living in Douglasville, Ga.

The meeting is being sponsored by the Southern Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, which is seeking to organize the share croppers and migratory workers of the South, in co-operation with the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Harry Koger, of Houston, Tex., chairman of the SAWOC, also will speak. He is chairman of the Texas Committee to Aid Migratory Workers and a former organizer among the sharecroppers.

There will be a fine program of entertainment. Donation is 50c.

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RENAISSANCE CASINO, 138th St. and 7th Av.
Auspices: Women's Committee of One Hundred — Admission: 50c

THE STENCH IS IN THE BOOK — NOT IN THE SCHOOL

How dense is the 'Blackboard Jungle'?

By Elmer Bendiner

A HIGHLY successful novel, soon to be made into a movie, quotes this snatch of conversation from a teacher in the lunchroom of a N. Y. vocational high school:

"Someday I'm going to rig an electric chair and bring it to class with me. I'm going to tell the kids it's a circuit tester, and then I'm going to lead the little bastards in one by one and throw the switch on them. That's my ambition."

The novel, **The Blackboard Jungle** by Evan Hunter (Simon and Schuster, $3.50), depicts one term in which there is a nearly successful rape on the first day of the semester, an almost fatal mugging at mid-term, a sordid seduction in connection with the Christmas assembly and a climactic knife attack by students at the term's end.

THE LID IS ON: The book describes the students as hardened criminals and their teachers as equally hardened wardens. Into the mouth of a teacher the author puts this verdict on the vocational school system:

"I'm telling you it's a garbage can, and you'll find out the minute you get a whiff of the stink. All the waste product, all the crap they can't fit into a general high school, all that stink goes into the garbage can that's the vocational high school system. That's why the system was invented.

"Sure the books will tell you the vocational high school affords manual training for students who want to work with their hands. That's all so much horse manure. There's only one thing these guys want to do with their hands. So some bright bastard figured a way to keep them off the streets. He thought of the vocational high school. Then he hired a bunch of guys with fat asses, a few with college degrees, to sit on the lid of the garbage can. That way, his wife and daughter can walk the streets without being raped."

HOLLYWOOD JUNGLE: The Blackboard Jungle is not a war novel in which salty dialogue is accurate and appropriate. Despite the disclaimer as fiction, the book is taken as a picture of schools to which thousands of parents send their children. **The Ladies Home Journal**, in an issue devoted to school problems, condensed the **Blackboard Jungle**. MGM has bought the movie rights and millions may soon see it billed as a semi-documentary. Newspapers have interviewed Hunter as an authority.

If one-tenth of the **Blackboard Jungle** is true no child should be assigned to a vocational school without a fair trial. If it is more accurate than that, the rising generation is hopelessly damned.

WE PAY A VISIT: The GUARDIAN visited the school where Evan Hunter taught and where, according to the publisher's book jacket, he acquired "much of the background whcih inspired **The Blackboard Jungle**." GUARDIAN learned that Evan Hunter, under the name of Salvatore Lombino, taught there exactly 17 days in 1950—the total of his teaching experience in any school anywhere.

The GUARDIAN also found that The Blackboard Jungle is one of the most irresponsible frauds ever foisted upon the public.

In the three-minute between-classes break the corridors of Bronx Vocational are filled with a cross-section of New York's poor. They are of all races. They are as noisy as teen-agers anywhere, but no noisier. They wear sweat shirts and dungarees and their shoes are down at the heel when they're not sneakers. But they act like kids—not thugs—and at the end of three minutes the corridors are quiet.

YOUNG MECHANICS: In the basement cars were lined up for servicing or inspection, motors were mounted for tinkering. Kids were under the cars and on top of them, quietly working under supervision of a teacher in automotive mechanics. Other boys upstairs were working on their own metal projects, making tools, learning how to use a gauge and follow blueprints. On the shelves around the shop were models the boys have made: an intricate punch press, a minutely-detailed locomotive.

In the woodshop boys with carpentry ambitions worked on house models. (The teacher said the place ought to be big enough so that the boys could put up the side of a house instead of working on small-scale.) A boy lay on his stomach on a worktable reading a comic, his feet waving in the air. The carpenter-teacher said he was a little ahead of himself.

DARKENED ROOM: Principal Michael Katzoff called him over. The boy blushed. The principal talked about the soccer game of the day before and asked about his ankle. The boy relaxed and grinned. The other boys went on with their work, like boys anywhere.

There are plumbing shops and electrical classes at Bronx Vocational but there are also academic courses. (The day is divided: three hours for shop work, three for academic studies.) In a darkened room a group of boys were watching a film strip on the UN. (Evan Hunter had said no teacher dared turn his back on these boys for fear of a knife or a blunt instrument that could split his skull.)

FACT & FICTION: Miss Rose McGuire looks barely 30, trim-figured and pretty. She teaches English to these teen-age boys and finds they can like Shakespeare. She has taught at Bronx Vocational for 10 years and was there when Evan Hunter taught his 17 days and came out with a fictional character of a sexy young English teacher who is narrowly saved from rape by the book's hero. When the **Ladies Home Journal** ran its condensation of **The Blackboard Jungle**, Miss McGuire indignantly wrote the editor:

"My face has never frightened a child, and my dresses are all size 12; yet no student has ever made improper advances in my direction."

WHEN SHE WAS NEW: They say "Hiya, teach" to her in the hallways but beyond that there is strict decorum; and if the boys have a crush they don't turn it into an assault. She said when she was new to teaching she once lost a class, but it didn't turn into a Blackboard Jungle mob.

She had a boy read passages from Stephen Leacock and she laughed outright at the story, but the boys thought she was laughing at the way it was read. They snubbed her then. She talked but they never said a word. She never got to them. It was painful for her but it was the cold disdain of boys who had been hurt. It wasn't the behavior of penned thugs.

Some of the boys in Bronx Vocational High are in trouble. A very few have police records. Not long ago a boy asked a teacher to take off his glasses and step outside. (He thought the teacher was picking on him.)

THE VILLAIN: The boys are not the problem. Principal Katzoff and his staff are angry at **The Blackboard Jungle** because it voices a contempt—even hatred—for the boys. Katzoff said: "The real problem is lack of sufficient funds to provide the maximum services. That's up to the politicians and, in the last analysis, to the voters and taxpayers."

Another problem, school officials point out, is that some guidance counsellors and some parents encourage a boy of above-average intelligence to go to an academic high school but mistakenly send a boy close to sub-normal to learn a trade. Often it denotes a contempt not only for the boy but for the job of working with one's hands.

The vocational high schools inherit some of the problem boys, some from broken homes and low IQ's. But they also inherit the boys who must be serious about their work because they're going to have to earn their living at it—often before they leave school.

ADVICE NEEDED: They inherit above all the deficiencies of the grammar school system. The average boy entering Bronx Vocational has the reading ability of a fourth-grade child. (For academic schools the level is very little higher.) Yet 16% of Bronx Vocational graduates go on to college.

There are one full-time and four part-time counsellors at Bronx Vocational High. The school could use three or four additional advisers. . . . There are only two remedial reading teachers when there should be five or six. The publishers don't print nearly enough textbooks geared to high school students with reading problems. (Even when the boys can read them, they sometimes laugh at stories which picture the typical adolescent as a boy with a country home.)

THE REAL PROBLEM: Bronx Vocational High has a crackerjack soccer team and a good track team but after-school club life is meagre. Too many of the boys and too many teachers must find jobs after school. (There is a teachers' strike against extra-curricular work pending adequate salary increases.)

Principal Katzoff said: "We have no discipline problem here. We have an educational problem."

There is a story of delinquency in the vocational high schools; but most of it is adult, not juvenile. It's not a "blackboard jungle," just a short-changed school for short-changed boys.

A WORKBENCH IS NOT A "BLACKBOARD JUNGLE"
Students in a N. Y. vocational high learn shoe repairing; a passing grade means a livelihood.

YOUNG SPACEMEN
One of the pictures in the Art of Today Gallery's showing of the works of the Assn. of Polish Photographers. The first exhibition of Polish art work to appear here since before the war, it will be shown Nov. 8 to 21 at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 St.

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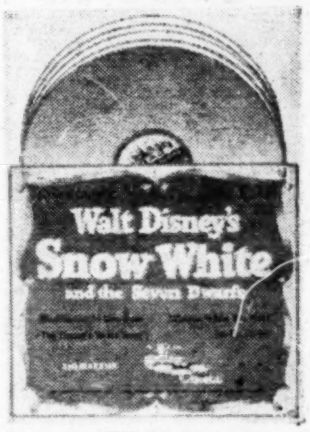

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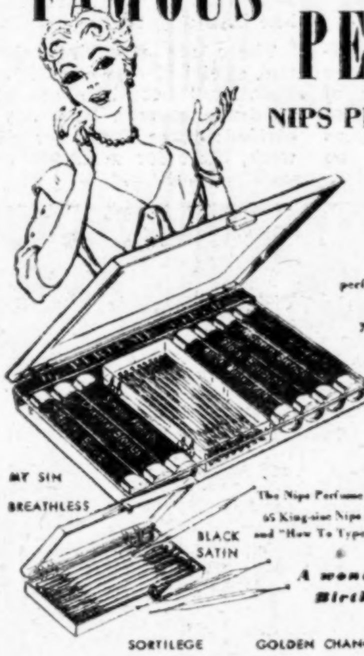

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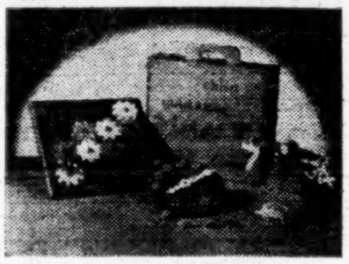

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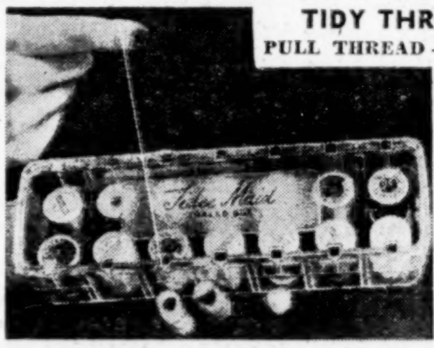

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